1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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833 takes place in the conventional position, and the male reaches a climax without thought of bringing his partner to an orgasm, even if he is aware of this aspect of feminine physiology. There is no record of the use of contraceptives and, except for married couples, intercourse generally takes place outdoors. Some care is taken to achieve privacy, but little shame or guilt attends discovery, except in cases of adultery.

836 947 584 754 Trouble is likely to result from love affairs, primarily because men regard them as ends in themselves, whereas women tend to consider them as preludes to marriage. Lovers take advantage of this attitude to promise marriage to any girl they court, but these promises are repeatedly broken. Not much can be done in such an event unless the girl becomes pregnant. She may then seek help from her lover's mother and, if the latter wants her as a daughter-in-law, she may urge her son to marry. If a pregnant girl finds herself repudiated by her sweetheart she may, in extreme cases, commit suicide, or else she may seek vengeance by asking a *machi* to perform the *kofun*.[4] *Kofun* is designed to render the guilty man impotent or sterile, but it requires the sacrifice of the baby which is either aborted or strangled at birth by the *machi*. The infant's ovaries or testicles are cut out and slowly burnt, while the *machi* dances about the fire, praying that the offender may become emasculated.

Kofun may also be performed against a girl who refuses to marry her lover. Revenge may then be taken by his mother who, by one device or another, gets some of the girl's menstrual blood. She dries it and either inserts it into the victim's food, or puts it into a fire to be consumed. In either event the girl is supposed to sicken, die, or lose her sexual powers.

582 Mr. Donaldson knew of instances in which a couple lived together before marrying as a kind of fertility test. In cases of this sort, marriage is supposed to follow as soon as pregnancy has occurred. Here again, some men fail to live up to their promises and brazenly refuse to marry or they go to Argentina.

[4] Cf. Augusta, 1916, I: 91; and Cooper, 1946, p. 733.

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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548 829 structure. Specifically, they attribute the habit of consorting with prostitutes to the greater individual freedom and lack of supervision brought about by private ownership of land and neolocal residence, as well as to the new opportunities for acquiring money through the sale of one's goods or services. Very likely, too, the rising frequency of visits to bawdy houses may be a by-product of the sociocultural forces that have brought about increasing numbers of bachelors.

COURTSHIP PRACTICES

● 584 So long as the custom of unilateral cross-cousin marriage was the universal rule, courtship behavior was restricted and standardized. When a young man was ready to marry, he talked with his elders, an eligible girl was selected, and the youth's *lakko* supervised negotiations with the *lakko*, parents, and other household mates of the prospective bride. Since the disintegration of the old system, more varied forms of courtship have come into being. Some of these, including premarital sexual relations, have already been discussed.

If a young man resides on a large reservation that contains several families which are not closely related, he may court a local girl while she is fetching water, or whenever she passes by a field where he is at work. In small reductions, in which all the inhabitants are likely to be close kin, a boy may have to contrive a suitable opportunity to woo a girl from another place. This he may bring about by making an extended visit to a relative or friend, by taking a job away from home, or by attending public assemblies at various reservations. Under other circumstances occasions for courtship arise when young men and women meet in government schools or during social functions sponsored by missionaries.

584 836 Nowadays, it sometimes happens that a young couple reach an agreement to marry without consulting their parents and without setting an exact date. When such an understanding prevails an impatient lover is likely to seek access to his sweetheart by employing the services of a go-between who is intimately familiar with all the domestic arrangements of the

1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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girl's household. With the aid of the pander, who must be able to keep the dogs quiet and under control, the young man enters his sweetheart's home in the night and crawls into her bed. This custom of sleeping together is called *inakudun*. Nothing much is made of it if it is plainly preliminary to marriage, but a girl who gets the reputation of freely sharing her bed becomes a laughing stock and is known as *ufkem domo* ("loose women").

MARRIAGE[1]

When, in the course of time, a man decides to marry he is not expected to deal directly with the girl or her parents. Instead, he is supposed to employ a friendly couple to serve as go-betweens. The process of arranging a nuptial pact is *dakuiñun*, and the intermediaries are termed *dakuiñgfe*. The latter hold lengthy conversations with the prospective groom and his parents, during which they carefully memorize the exact wording of the marriage offer, with particular reference to the details of a proposed bride price. After that the *dakuiñgfe* make a long stay at the girl's home, where they ingratiate themselves with her family and await a favorable chance to present the groom's proposal. During this period the female go-between constantly accompanies the bride-to-be, helping her to dress and to carry out her daily chores. She also seizes every occasion to praise the suitor and to paint a glowing picture of connubial bliss.

If all goes well and preliminary assent has been won to the suggested arrangements, the *dakuiñgfe* return to the groom's house to render a complete account of everything that was said and done during the visit. Thereafter, the boy's father schedules an assembly, *trawun*, to which is invited a large gathering including the bride and her relatives. At the *trawi-*

[1] While discussing this topic informants did not always differentiate clearly between present-day usages and traditional customs, but the intent of this section is to portray the contemporary situation. Compare the treatment of marriage in Munizaga, 1950, pp. 131–63; and Cooper, 1946, pp. 719–20.

I: Titiev E-5 (1968) 1951 SC4 Araucanians SC4
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tion proceed people seat themselves on skins or blankets, food and drinks are served, and elderly men and women may smoke pipes. Soon joking, *eyétuún*, begins and, as the crowd warms up, songs are rendered by anyone who desires to sing.[5] No matter who else sings, a chance is always provided for the suitor to make a proposal, which the intended bride is expected to parry.[6] "*C'est de bon ton*," as Hosaus expressed it.[7] Nevertheless, before the assembly breaks up, the groom's father gives a valuable present to the girl's father as a token of the bride price, and the couple contrive to set a date for an "abduction."[8]

When the appointed time comes the groom sets out on horseback after dark, accompanied by a small party comprising brothers, male cousins, or friends. The bride and her family may or may not offer a spirited resistance, but in any event the lover manages to seize his sweetheart and to ride off with her to the home of the intermediary, *rakiduhe*, whom, by previous arrangement, the couple spend the night. The next morning, in the presence of witnesses, the *rakiduhe* notifies the groom's father that his son has abducted a woman, and the father publicly announces the extent of the payment he is prepared to make to the girl's father. Arrangements are then completed for the fulfillment, which is the bestowal of the purchase price. This step is also taken before witnesses to discourage either party from violating earlier agreements. When, at last, the entire transaction has been completed, a go-between brings the fathers of the principals together so that they may shake hands in public. At this stage the girl's parents bring household goods and other presents for the newlyweds, and the bride's mother is expected to invite the couple and her daughter's affinal relatives to pay a visit to her home. From this time on,

[5] This custom is described in Titiev, 1949.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 13.
[7] Hosaus, 1939, p. 141.
[8] Reference is here made to the Araucanian custom generally called "marriage." The Mapuche consistently describe the custom by the Spanish word *rapto*, which may be translated either as "rape" or "abduction."

2: T'Kiev E-8 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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kuche pile mülen
fenguechi pewman
taiñi ñadu nguen meu.

Free translation.—A flock of turtledoves[31] flutters constantly by my side, wherever I may happen to be. In this way did I dream because of my nadu ("husband's sister").

539 592 Interpretation.—Although this type of song is called wenañ-kum ("sadness") it really expresses the opposite emotion. It reveals the good news that a woman's sister-in-law is about to be married. By the rule of patrilocal residence it follows that the singer is about to lose the companionship of her husband's sister, who was always fluttering about her. Deep down, the singer is pleased at the prospect of being left alone in her house with her husband and children.[32] Indeed, everyone may be said to be pleased: the prospective bride, her brother, her sister-in-law, and those of the bystanders who entertain hopes of taking part in the wedding celebration. Thus, this song "hurts no one," as Collío put it, and people hasten to wish joy to the girl whose betrothal the singer has announced. Just the same, Collío added, no woman would sing publicly in this manner, unless she were herself long-married and confident of her own security.

Man's Song No. 1[33]

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kiñe ngue meu
eñe lelfen feichi
eño ad laen
ruewe kutrantun
taiñi fem fiel
ze kura pinke
ñtruf niyen.

Free translation.—Only with one eye do you glance at me at present. When you hide your face, I might as well be dead.

[31] De Augusta, op. cit., I, 122, identified *cuiñeñe* as *la tortola*, the turtledove (*Zenaida auriculata*).

[32] Contrast a wife's bitterness, in "Woman's Song No. 7," at the prospect of having a new sister-in-law come into her household.

[33] "Man's Songs" No. 1 and No. 2 were called *dakuñtun lü* ("pact-making song") by Collío. As he used the term it had the connotation of a love pact.

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Why must you ever show me nothing but a heart of stone?

Interpretation.—A boy sings in this fashion to his sweetheart, either during a family visit to her home or at an assembly where members of both families are present. It reveals the fact that he has failed to win the girl of his choice, and it also serves to test her reaction. In accordance with Mapuche conventions it is not proper for a young woman to accept a proposal too quickly or too directly. Hence, she answers in the manner of the reply given below. If the affair reaches a stalemate the suitor's father, confident of the singer's sincerity, may take steps leading to a formal betrothal.

Woman's Reply

müna koila wentru
piuke meu feipilai
re mellfu-un meu
müten feipi kei
angue ta pengue
küle kei müten
piuke elika lei.

Free translation.—Men are all liars, they speak only with the lips, not with the heart. They show their faces uncovered, but not their hearts.

Interpretation.—By singing in such a vein, a girl who is being courted makes it clear that she is not to be taken lightly. The implication is that she may consider a serious offer of marriage but that she is unwilling to take part in a mere flirtation.

Man's Song No. 2

chumül anchi
inche kimun
tami piuke
ni inchü ngueael
feipi keeli
feichi dungu
allkutu anai
küme pichi ñuke.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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Free translation.—When will the time come when I shall know what is in your heart? Why don't you say the word that will allow us to be united? Please listen to me, my little cousin.

Interpretation.—A lover will sing in this way if a sweetheart continues to show reluctance even after some of the preliminaries to marriage have been carried out. The intent is to persuade the girl to set a wedding date.

Woman's Reply

prolei ñi pinke
feipi keeli arol
pinke ta pekan
fam tuku keel
troki kifilngue
rulpa fingue
amulechi antu
fei ula kimaimin.

Free translation.—At this moment my heart is tied in a knot, so I cannot reply. The heart is not a toy to be lightly given away. Please do not hurry me. Let the ever-moving sun go on, then you will learn what is best.

Interpretation.—In these words a girl expresses her unwillingness to set a definite wedding date. Her song implies that she may yet be willing to marry her suitor, but is not interested in a casual love affair.

Man's Song No. 3*

inalku rakuida
amulerpu fun
wala pela eyu ñuke
chew antu müilei
tami pinke am
incho kutran pinke
eimi ayune-en
papai anai papai

*Strictly speaking this song is not rendered in public. It deals with a request for a private love affair and is addressed only to the girl concerned. Nevertheless, the lover may make his plea during the course of a large assembly.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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chumül chefel
inche ta eimi chachai.

Free translation.—Along the edge of the forest I happened to go, but I failed to see you, cousin. Why are you so heartless?[28] While I am sick at heart, you are laughing at me. Mother, dear mother,[29] when will you say, "I am yours, daddy."[30]

Interpretation.—Here a lover complains that his sweetheart is not responsive to his advances. No serious offer of marriage is proposed, however.

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Woman's Reply

kuñi anai kuñi
mülfüchi ñuke
rume piyaimi
wein rüpü kiñe
kiso lelmi rume
feipi afeyu
trig mapu meu
wefpalen inche
pu che meu ta tripan.

Free translation.—Cousin, dear cousin, no matter how often you may call me ñuke ("cousin" or "wife"),[28] you are on the wrong road. Let me remind you that I did not spring from a hole in the ground, but was born from a human body.

Interpretation.—In this song a young woman expresses her refusal to engage in an irregular love affair with her father's sister's son. Because this type of cross-cousin marriage was the Mapuche pattern, young men were apt to regard all of their ñuke (mother's brother's daughters) as potential mistresses, if not wives. Parents were, of course, fully cognizant of this attitude and took pains, accordingly, to warn their eligible

[28] Tsani püñeñ can means literally, "your heart soul." However, can also means "shade" or "reflection." Thus, the lover wants to know where in the soul, shade, or reflection of his cousin's heart. This connotes that she appears heartless to him.

[29] For the use of rumai see the free translation of "Man's Reply" to "Woman's Song No. 1."

[30] Chachai is a familiar term for father. It may also be used as a friendly greeting by a young woman addressing an older man.

[28] Compare footnote 18.

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

once made, was preserved a couple of days or more by igniting a piece of dry trunk of chagual (*Puya coarctata*) at one point and letting it smolder (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 89). Lighted bundles of *Chusquea* were used as torches (Idde).

Miscellaneous manufactures.—Gourds were made into dishes, bowls, trays, and containers for water and chicha; shells, into drinking vessels and spoons; later, bullock's horns were made into water containers. Wood was used to make plates, bowls, drinking vessels (malwa), and many other objects (cf. Claude Joseph, 1931, pp. 229–41); sea shells were earlier used for scraping wood (González de Nájera, 1889, p. 97). Awls were made of a sharpened bone. A small steel adze came into use later (Claude Joseph, 1931, p. 236, fig. 23). Sacks (rafle) for storing grain were made of cowhide or horsehide; small bags of skin (yapaq) for holding parched grain. (Cf. for further details, Claude Joseph, 1931; other artifacts have been noted passim in preceding sections of the present paper, q. v.; see also infra under Weapons, p. 730.)

MARRIAGE AND THE FAMILY

Acquisition of mates.—Beyond general statements such as Molina's (1901, p. 180), that "in marriage they scrupulously avoid the degrees of immediate relationship," we have few dependable details on *Mapuche-Huilliche* incest prohibitions. According to Guevara Silva (1929, 1: 220, 2: 162), marriage was prohibited between grandfathers and granddaughters, uncles and nieces, and children of brothers. Inventors use relations are reported to have occurred at times on the occasion of drinking spoons. Unilateral cross-cousin marriage with the mother's brother's daughter was the most preferred one but seemingly was not mandatory. A male called his mother's brother's daughter *tuke* (mother) while she called him *pulut* ("son," v. s.); if he did not marry her, he called her children and they him by sibling terms. A native concept rationalizing the cross-cousin preference was: "So there will not be any discord, she will look on me as her son and so will live in peace with me" (Coña, in Moesbach, 1930, p. 201). Marriage with wife's brother's daughter reported to Hallowell (1943, p. 490) by Callfú Huaiquillaf is not recorded elsewhere in our sources. Several polygyny was common, "to avoid quarrels and jealousy" (Guevara Silva, 1913, p. 46). Under certain conditions (cf. infra) widows were in earlier times inherited by the deceased husband's eldest or other son (except the son's own mother), or brother, or nearest male relative.

The basic and normal procedure in marriage was the payment of the bride-price, a procedure very commonly accompanied with dramatized rapture. The prospective groom either personally or through go-betweens entered into negotiations with the father or elder relative

5:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

584 of the girl. Her consent was usually, but apparently not always, sought. The bride-price consisted of llamas, mantles, shirts, adornments (feathers), food, chicha, and, later, chickens, cattle, horses, bridles, spurs, and other valuables. From 10 to 100 such items might be demanded, although it was not always required to pay all at once. The relatives and friends of the groom would contribute toward the bride-price if he could not get it together unaided, which put him under a debt of honor to reciprocate when later they should need his contributions. The bride-price was turned over primarily to the girl's father or other older relative, some of it directly to her mother. Much of it was distributed to her paternal and maternal uncles, her brothers, and other kin, and much of it consumed at the marriage feast, to which her father and kin also contributed large quantities of chicha.

583 Dramatized capture of the bride, or simulated reluctance and resistance on the part of her and her female relatives and friends, very commonly accompanied marriage, and followed various patterns. The consent of the girl's father or parents having been obtained, the groom with some male relatives or friends would seize the girl at her father's house or elsewhere; she would scream and struggle; her women relatives and friends or her parents and brothers would put up a simulated but rough-and-tumble resistance; the girl would be carried away by the groom on horseback to his house or to the woods near thereto; after 1 to 3 days, he with the girl and his companions would go to her house where her mother would give them a meal. Then, or a short time after, the bride-price was given over and the wedding feast celebrated.

Apart from simulated capture with the father's consent and with or without the previous consent of the girl or against her wishes, and apart from marriage with women captured or stolen from out-group or enemy tribes, some instances of in-group real capture and forcible detention against both the girl's and her parents' wishes may have occurred. (Cf. Claude Joseph, 1933-34, pp. 707-08.) But generally the father's consent was obtained past fixture and the bride-price given over to him. In very rare cases, if the seized girl was unwilling [762] at all to live with her simulative (or real) captor, she resigned herself (Moesbach, 1936, p. 241). Some elopements, too, occurred, with the consent of the girl but without that of her parents. As a rule, after capture or elopement, if the father absolutely refused post factum consent, his daughter was returned to him (Havestadt, 1883, 2:320).

585 The wedding rites and observances consisted mainly of the transfer and distribution of the bride-price, of the rendering of specially composed ballads, of a sacrifice of a llama or other animal, of singing, dancing, feasting, and, of course, very liberal imbibing of chicha or

19: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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CHOICE OF MATE, MARRIAGE CEREMONIAL

With some variations, the traditional proper procedure in the choice of the first wife and the accepted marriage ceremonial were as follows: (1) One or more interviews were held between the father of the man and the father of the woman, or between a representative of the father of one of them and the father of the other. Sometimes the father talked to his son regarding the woman whom he wished him to marry; just as often he did not do so. Sometimes the mother of the woman was present at the interviews between the men; more often her husband conferred with her and then held the interviews. This was true regarding the mother of the man, also. In instances, too, the parents conferred with a daughter to learn her wishes regarding the man; more often she was not consulted. (2) An agreement was reached between the two fathers regarding the number and kinds of animals to be paid as bride price. The bride price was eventually paid by the man and his father to the woman's father. Articles of clothing and silver ornaments were usually given as gifts but were generally stipulated in the bride price also. (3) The date for the marriage was set. (4) The marriage ceremonial was carried out in the ruka of the woman's parents, usually consisting of three parts: the bride price was delivered to the woman's father by the man and his father in the presence of the man's mother and other relatives, and gifts were exchanged; second, the giving of good advice to the man and the woman; and third, the partaking of food by all. In some instances the last two were omitted. (5) The man took the woman to the ruka of his parents where they were to live for some time. (6) The woman's personal belongings and her animals were transferred to her new home. "The thing that told people that these two were married was the fact that the man had paid the price—maybe a horse, an ox, and several cattle—for the woman. There was no wedding ring, or anything like it. The woman merely went to live in the ruka of the man's parents—that is, in a part of it—where she cooked and kept house for the man." Second and subsequent wives merely moved into their assigned ruka when the man got the consent of the woman's parents.

An Alapile man in his late forties told of his marriage: "When I went for my wife, there were seven persons with me: my father, my brother, my mother, my eldest sister, and three men relatives. We left home the day before, spent the night in the hills, and arrived at the girl's house just at sunrise—one should arrive while the girl's family is still sleeping. As soon as we arrived there, we paid the bride price and gave gifts that we had brought." The informant did not

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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than themselves. "Fifteen years, 18 years, is certainly no age for marriage." 582

Kolupan described the traditional proper way of arranging for a marriage: The man told his parents of a liking he had for a girl. His parents, if they too liked the girl, conferred with the girl's parents about a possible marriage. Both parents of the girl had a voice in the decision, but it was the girl's father who expressed the consent to the man's parents and who set the bride price. The bride price was seldom less than four or five large animals, such as cows or horses; if the groom's parents were wealthy, the price might be 20 head of cattle. These were to be given to the girl's father; it was understood that the girl's mother would be presented with gifts of silver ornaments, money, and clothing. The girl's consent to her betrothal was rarely sought; nor were her likes or dislikes taken into consideration. In fact, she did not always know the man to whom she was promised. A listening-in woman in her seventies, the daughter of a late cacique, had not known the man to whom she was promised. Her father received as bride price for her a riding horse, a new saddle, and a large number of cattle. 584

Child betrothal was recognized but was a rare occurrence.—Whether child betrothal was traditional or borrowed from the Argentines was difficult to ascertain.—The betrothal might occur when the girl was no older than 5 years, but marriage did not take place until she was at least 15. Kolupan believed that the bride price, in such cases, was paid at the time of betrothal. "How else could both sides have been held to their promises," he reasoned, and added, "However, in those days a word meant more than written documents do today. Such a girl was carefully guarded by her uncles, aunts, brothers, and parents; in fact, by all her relatives," he noted. "Nothing was to happen to her; the chief reason for guarding her was to prevent anyone else from wanting to marry her."

In more recent times it has been considered proper for the man himself to ask the consent of the girl's parents. Once the girl was promised to him he could come to her house, but the girl had to get her mother's express permission to speak to him. "These were delicate things and had to be strictly observed." Sometimes, however, the couple evaded the parents. "I arranged with the girl first, and then I asked her parents for her," said a man in his fifties. He laughed about this.

Today parents have had to make further concessions. The young man alone asks the consent of the girl's parents, or he and the girl together ask for it. There is no longer a bride price. The custom was

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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534 gradually dropped after the Argentine army moved in. An informant in her seventies had not been paid for; neither had her 30-year-old son paid for his wife.

832 Love charms, such as nail parings or hairs of the one to be charmed, were not known. Informants had a hearty laugh at the idea. According to Kolupan, however, a man could ask women who were his relatives to take an unwilling girl, in a guileless way, to an underground place in which two sorcerers lived. These would impose a spell on the girl and then influence her to love the man. "From then on the girl would be willing to marry the man!"

787 Today, young girls in the area about San Martin de los Andes speculate as to the kind of husband each will marry, probably following a custom of Argentine girls. On an evening, especially the Eve of St. John (December 26), each of several girls will take soot from the bottom of a tea kettle, mix it with water, let a drop fall on a piece of paper, fold the paper where the drop is, put the folded paper under her pillow, and sleep on it. (Ink, if available, is used in place of soot.) In the morning the girls will read their fortunes regarding a husband from the dried blots; or they will take the dried blots to persons who have the reputation of being professional interpreters of them. If the blot, for example, looks like a dog or a puma, the girl's marriage will be an unfortunate one; if it looks like the head of a horse, or any large animal, the prediction is favorable.

MARRIAGE CEREMONIAL

585 Formerly, before dawn, by the time the roosters crowed, the man, his parents, his brothers and sisters, and many other relatives were already at the home of the girl. Soon after their arrival they presented the bride price, and, following this, formal conversation was carried on. "It took a great part of that day," said Kolupan, "until the many, many, many words were spoken that it was customary to speak before the man got his girl." Following this formal conversation an abundant meal of meat was served, provided by the parents on both sides. The man's parents and relatives had brought with them the heart of a cow or of a horse, which was eaten at the beginning of the meal by the couple in the presence of all that had come to the marriage. "All persons present saw these two together eat that heart; that was a sign to them that these two were now married."—In more recent years it has been the custom for the couple, and the parents, brothers and sisters, grandparents, aunts and uncles of both bride and groom to squat in a circle and each take a bite of the heart.—When the meal

11:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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matters will be discussed between husband and wife, the wife outlining her plans to her husband and the husband agreeing or disagreeing as he sees fit. His disagreement, though, does not end the matter, for the wife is at liberty to dispose of what are considered her rightful possessions, even though her husband may hold a different opinion. It is the husband's place to make counter-suggestions if he disagrees with his wife's proposals, but he seldom feels himself in a strong enough position to actually forbid her to act without restraint. Families in which husbands rule with an iron hand live in an atmosphere of discord which eventually comes to the attention of the community. Social pressures tend to restore a measure of harmony, at least after a crisis has been reached, since a husband is subject to certain ridicule if his wife complains about his actions to other women and derives sympathy from them. A man will, therefore, usually accede to a number of his wife's wishes if for no other reason than to keep the dissension from extending beyond his immediate family, to maintain at least the fiction of a well-ordered household. On the other hand, a nagging wife does not gain the sympathy of her housemates or neighbors, and it is the husband whose complaints or recourse to physical violence are sanctioned. A shrewish wife is sometimes regarded as *weza* or *loco* (crazy).

After the spouses settle down to gaining a living and begetting children, there seems to be a noticeable de-emphasis of the romantic emotions which characterize early matrimony. While courtship behavior is notoriously secretive, the early marital period, before the birth of the first child, is one in which affection between husband and wife is often openly displayed in the presence of others. This relationship seems to undergo a marked change after the first child is born, but since I have seen only a few such cases my remarks are wholly impressionistic.

There seems to be no stigma attached to excessive virility in extramarital affairs or a lack of it in regard to familial sex. Indeed, the ideal male performance may be characterized as machoismo, or masculinity, in the Ladino sense with the full implication of promiscuity. Women may be ridiculed for displaying what is considered an overinterest in sex, indicated by their conversation and by their attentions to their husbands. There is the notion that a sexually "overactive" wife is given to lesbianism, an accusation sometimes made in arguments with other women.

Philandering brings no more than mild social rebuke, provided

Il:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)1961 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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593 dignity in their relationship. This consideration shown by the older for the younger brother modifies the ascribed authority of the older and tends to make the fraternal relationship a relatively compatible one.

Discord between brothers might arise in childhood at about the time the older is attempting to slough off some of the more onerous chores and household duties onto the younger. These situations involve trickery, bantering, wheedling, and often result in outbursts of temper and fighting, but they do not set the tone of adolescent and adult fraternal relationships. If a mother cannot control her sons, she complains to their father, who settles the matter authoritatively. Boys are ashamed to be punished by their father since this is an indication of their immaturity. The fact that they have to demonstrate readiness to assume adult responsibilities conditions their behavior toward their father to a much greater degree than toward their mother.

There is a closeness between brothers which characterizes their relationship throughout life. This pattern is so strong that deviation [622] from it is cause for community gossip, if not pity for the principals. Brothers generally set up adjacent households, after moving from the parental roof, and engage in cooperative activities more frequently among themselves than with other residents on the reservation, perhaps with the exception of their father. Their children become the closest of friends, as do their wives, who, in line with traditional marriage practices, may be real or classificatory sisters themselves.

[613] From the time they reach full masculine vigor brothers generally form the strongest nucleus of their lineage branch and begin to displace their father in political and economic activities. As a fraternal group they stand united even against other kin, and there is a saying to the effect that brothers take up each other's arguments with "outsiders." Viewed from the outside, then, they form a solid front.

Brothers may unite in opposition to ideas or demands of their father, especially if they consider the old man's views to be old-fashioned. They used to be "social" companions, accompanying one another to ceremonies, fiestas, to town, on visits, and so forth. One [624] often acts as the go-between in a love affair of the other; an older brother might help negotiate his younger brother's marriage. They form the most productive work unit of the household or *lof-che*, if they live in an expanded family, albeit under the guidance of their father. A further indication of the close working relationships among

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Courtship and Marriage

Marriage among the Mapuche, as in other societies, establishes the elementary family and provides offspring resulting from the union a legitimate status in their father's patrilineage and reservation community. Marriage also initiates a structural modification in the relationship of two kingroups, insofar as the affinal ties it creates comprise potential series of new role and status relationships, affinal bonds multiplying through a more extensive social aggregate. The birth of children to the marriage sets up additional cognatic relationships and reinforces many of those already established.

Courtship, as distinguished from clandestine love affairs, is a relationship between a young man and woman which is regarded as the proper and romantic prelude to marriage. It has at least the tacit approval of the responsible members of the immediate families of the young couple and receives the full social sanction of the community. The young couple and their respective families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course. With this understanding, courtship also provides a setting for premarital sexual relations on a level of respectability not otherwise attainable in Mapuche society.

This chapter is concerned with patterns of courtship and marriage as these characterize Mapuche society today. It deals briefly with persons' attitudes toward sex and opportunities for premarital sexual

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833 Although the amount of privacy varies from one household to the next, depending on household composition and living arrangements, it is never great. If any youngster is in doubt about the nature of the sexual act, or makes a remark indicating his ignorance, he is put straight by one of the older boys or girls of the group, usually after prolonged teasing.

831 Sexual intercourse is regarded as a natural part of courtship. Court-[836] ship itself is called *thungun* or *kintun*, words which connote sexual [594] activity as well. They are sometimes used in reference to sexuality among stock animals and domesticated cats and dogs which after [522] mating are said to be married. Other rude parallels between human and animal sexual behavior are also noted and considered humorous. [595] A rutting bullock, for example, might be called a polygynist or a wealthy man for having so many "wives," and polygyny is generally associated with male concupiscence. It is interesting that stock ani-[531] mals, aside from being the subject of much discussion because of their [561] economic and prestige value, actually provide a focus for the deliberation of sexual matters which offsets a reluctance to talk openly about human sexuality under conditions where respect should be maintained toward members of the proximate ascending generation.

881 Parents do not inform young children about sex and its functions 864 and, indeed, there seems no appreciable difference in this knowledge [831] between adolescents and their elders. Fathers counsel their adolescent sons more about honor and adult responsibilities, vaguely preparatory to their marriage, and will lay down the law regarding incest, but very little information about sexual functions passes directly from father to son. Mothers usually advise their daughters at the onset of their first menses with regard to bodily cleanliness and the care of soiled garments, but again little or nothing about sexual activity is transmitted from mother to unmarried daughter.

Hence, young people acquire their knowledge of sex through observation and direct experience. During this process they are under the censorship of their parents. There is the notion that sexual de-[831] sire should not be overindulged, but it is difficult to obtain a clear statement about the limits of indulgence. Premarital sexual activity is [836] expected to begin at about the onset of puberty, though parents restrict their children's opportunities for sexuality in an attempt to keep it within respectable bounds.

835 The incest barrier is theoretically immutable and its transgression unthinkable. Yet there is not complete agreement on all the relation-

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anything more than flirtation and the bodily contact that certain dances afford.

Ceremonial dancing, which is largely limited nowadays to the *kilitun* rite, is not without its opportunities for sexual advances. Many young people who dance together at these ceremonies are already courting. If this is not the case, pairing off for ceremonial dancing might bring the possibility of a match to the minds of the parents, who are also in attendance and who are apt to take special notice of this sort of thing. Later, the parents might individually encourage the affair. If they are dissatisfied, however, they could profit from the ceremonial occasion and publicly discourage the young people.

While premarital sex is always a *sub rosa* affair, parents become concerned if their children are not proceeding along the road to courtship and marriage. Bashfulness in public is ridiculed by parents. Young people are encouraged to mingle, especially when they are chaperoned by responsible adults.

A young man receives his greatest assistance in love affairs from males of his peer group, usually parallel cousins or brothers, but he also obtains great encouragement from his sisters and other close female relatives. Sisters will tease him about his interest in a certain girl, perhaps in this way bringing it to the attention of the parents for the first time. They advise him that bashfulness is not becoming to a man and might also tell him that "as in the past" his marriage will have to be arranged for him. Mothers sometimes follow a similar line, but couch their remarks more gently. They characteristically work behind the scenes in forwarding a suit of which they approve. Fathers seldom concern themselves directly in these matters, especially refraining from giving advice to their daughters. With this exception, the entire household takes an active interest in a proper love affair, and it is in time thoroughly discussed, although questions and answers are generally disembodied by teasing and mockery.

ILLICIT LOVE AFFAIRS AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS

Pregnancy most often leads to marriage, in which case there are no major interpersonal and social upheavals, provided the marriage is within licit bounds. The young man is prevailed upon by his sweetheart in the name of the child to be born and her own hapless condi-

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tion. If the young man is in love with the girl and feels that she will make a good wife, he will generally marry her. He may not do so immediately unless he already has land and a house of his own or a secure place in his father's household. Often he advises his sweetheart to continue living with her parents until he is able to make preparations to receive her as his wife. Delay might be construed as unwillingness to go through with the marriage, but this is not always the case. Nevertheless, until marriage arrangements have been entered into, this is a tense and anxious period for all concerned.

If a man has no land and his parents are unwilling to take his wife and child into their house, he is in no position to accept the responsibilities of marriage. I know of no case in which a man went to live with the parents of his lover under these circumstances. Indeed, he would not be welcome. The parents of the girl treat him with some distrust until serious marriage proposals have been made. If the young man and his family are in good faith, marriage negotiations may begin at this time. Ideally, they should have been planned in advance. In cases where the young couple are already betrothed, the matter of pregnancy is taken lightly, or perhaps as a sign of fruitfulness, and relatives on both sides lend ready assistance to the young man and woman in providing for a new household.

The situation is more complicated if the young man is already betrothed to another girl. He may refuse to marry his paramour on the grounds that his family has already made preparations for his forthcoming marriage. He presents the obligations he and his parents are under to other relatives who have promised him animals for the bride-price, given labor for the preparation of fields, a house, and so forth; or he tells her that he will not get this sort of assistance should he marry her instead of his betrothed.

This line of reasoning is deceitful since it somewhat exaggerates the material contributions of relatives to marriage arrangements today. Lineage contributions to the marriage wealth are often more symbolic than substantial, except in cases where a lineage decision has to be made on the allotment of land to the young man. A marriage tends to stand or fall on the availability of land. Access to unused land is obtained through permission of the reservation's chief. But on most reservations there is little or no unused land, and a man must obtain his father's consent to use part of the family's fields, rather than seek the permission of the chief or one or more of the other lineage elders. Of course, in granting his son a parcel of farmland a

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man comes easily by in the face of tradition as represented by the authority of lineage elders. We will return to the significance of land in marriage wealth in the next chapter, where the matrilateral marriage system is discussed in detail and the symbolic value of marriage wealth is explained.

A man in love might elope with his sweetheart whether or not she is pregnant. This is quite common today, even after extended courtship. It usually occurs with the knowledge of the man's family and, in many cases, with the approval of at least some member of the girl's household. Elopement is considered disgraceful, however, if a young man has been forbidden to marry by his father. If a man is engaged to a young woman and elopes with another, his situation is especially difficult. The community looks upon the act as a mark of disrespect toward the father and as evidence that the young man has not been properly brought up, and also sees something ridiculous in the situation. But the parents of the boy and his betrothed regard it as reprehensible. It is cause for a breach between the two families and in no way connects relations between the young man's family and that of the girl with whom he eloped. The young man's father can easily refuse to allow his son and the girl to remain in his house and deny his son access to farmland. Under these circumstances, the young couple either decide to give up or postpone their marriage, or defy parental authority and leave the reservation.

Should a young man cause his sweetheart to become pregnant and then show a reluctance to marry her, his parents are in a position to exert pressure on him to go through with it. Characteristically, they speak of his duties to the child that is expected, his responsibility to the girl, and the reasons he should feel for the honor of his mother and father. If his mother and sister feel that the girl will make a good wife and if the families are on friendly terms, great pressure can be brought to bear on him. If the girl and the young man's mother are consanguineal kin, the young man will usually be directly admonished by members of his mother's kingroup to marry the girl. His reluctance usually breaks down in this case, or else he remains adamant and leaves the reservation rather than marry. Leaving the reservation, indeed, often seems the only solution, for the young man's life can be made intolerable, at least until the girl marries someone else.

It is unlikely that a girl's parents will negotiate directly with the young man or his family if they are not rather closely related to him

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through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the primary considerations in these matters is family honor, and the danger of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The question of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from a Chilean system of values.

The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party, through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend, however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these depart from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean possess alone a substantial body of supernatural beliefs, the Chilean criticizing Mapuche concepts of supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of beliefs.

It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and murder. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of adulteress by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this practice was the case of killing unidentified lovers, especially men who had fornicated their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close. Today, although witches murder occurs now and then, vengeance is usually sought through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circumstances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly involved.

There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which resulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

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mother consulted a witch who lived on another reservation some miles from that of her lover. *Koftun* was performed. The mother buried the infant behind the family dwelling and shortly afterward left the reservation to take up domestic service in one of the regional towns. Her family became impatient for results and eventually revealed to the young man that *koftun* had been made against him and that he was bewitched. (The theme of revelation runs through many of the accounts of the supernatural.)

The young man is said to have become despondent, soon leaving the reservation. He went to Argentina for several years and worked as a ranch hand before returning home. Within a week of his return he went into the woods behind his house and cut his throat. The community considered this action pathetic and unnecessary, since the thing for the young man to have done would have been to father several children before the *koftun* magic took effect. There is the notion that the supernatural agent is slow-working and sometimes a man will have several months or even years of virility ahead.

While abortion is fairly common among unwed mothers and *koftun* rare, as far as I know, the most typical reaction seems to be a resolve not to become pregnant again until married. Of seventy-three women above the age of twenty-five living on three of the reservations I studied in 1953, sixteen, or more than 20 per cent, admitted to having (or were said to have had) at least one out-of-wedlock child. Most of these women eventually married the child's genitor. Some of them married other men, or at least did not know the biological father's identity. A good many aborted or tried to abort. Only three never married, although they are still young enough to marry.

Having one out-of-wedlock child is generally considered a misfortune, but a characteristic human error and not an insuperable barrier to eventual marriage. A young woman with more than one illicitly conceived child, however, is felt to be promiscuous and undesirable as a wife. Such a woman, if she ever marries, may have to carry a large dowry and perhaps marry a widower, an old polygynist, a poor Mapuche who is willing to reside uxorilocally, or a "renegade" or *mapuchado* white.

ARRANGING THE MARRIAGE

Arranged marriage need not imply indifference to the feelings of the young couple involved, although they are sometimes ignored.

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584 It may be defined rather with regard to family sponsorship through
585 the exchange of marriage wealth and contingent supporting activities
entailed in the good offices of close relatives. Arranged marriages
continue to be the easiest means of obtaining a spouse. Under condi-
tions of reservation living, which involve scarce land and material
impoverishment, marriage is contracted only with family approval,
unless the young couple is prepared to leave the reservation and shift
for themselves in the towns and cities of Chile or on some rural estate.

582 A man looks outside his natal group for a sweetheart or wife. His
[592] attentions are most often met with favor and family approval where
there are interfamilial links of friendship; and friendship is strongest
when based on kinship. The closest kinship ties outside the compa-
ternal patrilineage are between a man and the groups related through
his mother or another female allter of his patrilineage -- that is,
groups related through in-married women of his residential kingroup.
584 Courtship is important in obtaining both the favor of the girl and the
approval of her family, but the range of selection is defined
matrilaterally.

585 When traditional marriage ceremonies are economically feasible
today, they are carried out in close approximation to the recorded
597 practices of fifty or more years ago (cf. Metraux, 1936:231-63). Ter-
minary unions such as the sororate and widow inheritance have
tended to diminish along with the practice of polygyny, but their
frequency is by no means negligible, especially when considered in
the structural terms which will be elaborated in Chapter 8.

583 As in the past, dramatized bride capture accompanies some mar-
riages (see Cooper's discussion, 1946:724). This involves a mock battle
which has been prearranged by some members of both families.
Among the modern Mapuche it appears that bride capture is an em-
bellishment on elopement, occurring as part of preliminary marriage
steps between proud and important families who are desirous of ad-
ditional festive. Its occurrence is rare.

584 The following account is offered as a generalized description of
[591] the way in which a first marriage is contracted today among the Ma-
puche. It will be seen that marriage is essentially a family matter in
the first instance, and a lineage matter in its broader aspects.

583 Marriage might be initiated by elopement, followed by wedding
arrangements and a formal ceremony, or arrangement might follow
a courtship which develops smoothly into marriage without the
587 drama of elopement. Marriage may be further solemnized by Catho-

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unless the young couple take matters into their own hands and run SB3
away from the reservation altogether. If they run away, a good deal of
the responsibility rests with the father of the young man, and strained
feelings result between the two families.

When all goes well, however, and the parents of both accept the SB3
elopement, marriage plans are begun in earnest. The young woman SB4
might return to her family household in the interim to assist in the
completion of her trousseau. This interlude gives both families time
to prepare the marriage wealth and settle many marriage details.
Negotiations are practically identical whether or not elopement
occurs.

Everywhere, then, serves to hasten marriage, provided the alliance
is viewed favorably by both families. It may also result in a matrilocal
marriage and in the young couple's leaving the reservation. If it is successful, the couple remains with the young man's parents for
several days, while the father's brother and one or more kinsmen go
to the girl's house and formally notify her parents that marriage is
proposed and that they are desirous of coming to an amicable agreement, with the appropriate ceremonial conclusion as tradition dictates. Essentially the same procedure is followed if the marriage is
initiated wholly by arrangement without elopement as a factor, but
the girl would not have left her parental roof. The preliminaries
might be more difficult to settle, since the young man would have to
convince his father and his spokesmen of the propitiousness of the
marriage without the catalytic aid of elopement. Furthermore, the
father of the girl would be in a position to delay the marriage as
long as his daughter was in his household. There would be no sense
of urgency, and, even though both families were sympathetic toward
the marriage, preparations could be drawn out almost endlessly. It
sometimes happens that elopement takes place precisely at the point
when arrangements seem to have bogged down.

In any case, a serious young man generally will have busied himself with preparations for marriage by obtaining some commitments
from his father and kinsmen for gaining together the bride-price, in
order to supplement whatever wealth he might possess in his own
right. He will very likely have spoken obscurely of marriage with a
number of his relatives and will have some idea of what their contributions might be.

Lineage contributions are of considerable symbolic importance, SB3
but the material assistance given the young man is not necessarily SB5
great.

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SE3 grass. The materials needed by the young couple to be relatively self-sufficient are generally provided by their immediate families and the closest or wealthiest relatives on both sides. The marriage wealth, figured in movable goods, is approximately an equal exchange. The most important item in the marriage wealth is, however, the parcel [SE3] of land made available to the man by his father, over which the bride exercises customary rights. This will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

SE4 The first step in the negotiations between the two families is called *inkuikangwng*, the beginning of formal discussion in which the amount of payment and the date of the wedding feast are tentatively set. This is sometimes called *ülkantkangwng*, a term perhaps more suggestive of discussion between in-laws. Actually, if traditional matrilateral marriage is practiced, the negotiators will be affinal relatives through former marriages.

[SE3] After preparations have been made by the family and relatives of SE3 the man, the father's brother and perhaps an older brother of the SE4 young man go again to tell the bride's parents that the payment is ready. They state in detail the items to be paid, somewhat underemphasizing the worth of the animals, ponchos, jewelry, and so forth, so as to make the actual presentation as impressive as possible. But they deal elaborately with the quality of the parcel of land being made available to the young couple. There is a good deal of haggling about what should be given and the negotiations may take as long as a week, especially if the young man's kinsmen are lured by his sweetheart's family. Agreement is always reached in cases where the families have been on good terms. However, the groom's family often has to pay an additional amount at the last moment -- a matter of a few pesos -- on the day of the nuptials. The haggling, actually, is inconsistent with the notion of equal exchange. It is understandable once it is recognized that land provided by the groom's family really makes for an imbalance, since the bride-price is greater than any gifts made to the groom's kin or the dowry brought by the bride. This imbalance is symbolized in the additional, last-minute payment of a few extra pesos to the family of the girl.

SE5 On the appointed day, the family of the groom, including as many relatives and friends as are interested, proceed to the bride's house, which is on another reservation. They carry all the movable bride-price with them, to be handed over at the wedding feast and distributed among the relatives of the bride. If the marriage has been

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precipitated by elopement, the girl is sometimes in the company of her sweetheart's family, but if the marriage arrangements have been protracted she has usually returned to her father's house. The groom in most cases remains some distance apart from his family and relatives, in the company of several selected comrades. 585

There then takes place another *ñillantharguwg*, or further discussion of the marriage wealth between relatives of the young man and those of the girl. A man and woman from each family discuss the marriage wealth in all its particulars. If there is still some last-minute disagreement, other elders confer. [584]

When final agreement is reached the groom enters with his comrades, all of whom are mounted. The entrance is calculated to be impressive. A friend of the groom kills a special horse, a fat one that has often been purchased for the occasion. The selection of a fat horse is more for the sake of appearance than for the additional meat it will supply. A choice part of the animal is cut off and roasted and eaten by the groom and the friends who accompanied him to the wedding. Meanwhile, the rest of the people busy themselves with the preparation of large quantities of food. The rest of the horse is given to the bride's parents, who, with the aid of their kinsmen, prepare the feast for all those assembled. Wine is consumed in great amounts, and if *chicha* is available it is also drunk copiously. Most of the beverages are brought to the affair by the guests, although the parents of the bride and groom supply as much as they are able. [262] [273]

On accepting the animals presented him by the *weupüfe* or *weupin* (a male from the groom's lineage and an in-married woman from the bride's lineage), the father of the bride orders that some of them be killed for the wedding feast. They are killed by a member of the groom's family and handed over to the girl's father to be cooked. Once prepared, they are served to the family of the groom, who get most of the meat.

After these matters have been attended to, and people are busily eating and celebrating, *mafutun* is undertaken. This consists of a payment to a married sister of the bride who lives elsewhere and who by prearrangement is not attending the marriage feast. The groom's friends, usually lineage brothers, take a horse or a sheep to the bride's sister's house. If a horse is offered to her, four friends of the groom usually make the payment; a sheep requires presentation by only two persons.

I am not certain if this payment establishes several rights in the [587]

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585 event of the death of the sister's husband, but I do not think it is
589 viewed in this way. However, in some of the accounts I heard of sororal marriage, *mafutun* was mentioned as part of the background of the union, but marriages in nearly all these instances involved classificatory sisters. Therefore, the payment to the bride's sister does pave the way for possible marriages between her husband's kingroup and that of the groom.

585 Part of *mafutun* is a "small" *ñillanthungung* held at the bride's sister's house, in which agreement is reached over the proffered gift or payment. Then the horse or sheep is killed and a small fiesta is held for the friends of the groom who brought the animal.

The main wedding ceremony continues through the day at the bride's father's house. The bride and groom and all his friends and relatives return to the groom's parents' house after the ceremony is over. Their departure signalizes the completion of matrimonial arrangements. The bride carries a dowry of roughly equal value to the [583] animals and other things presented to her father and kinsmen; or at least she brings as much of the dowry as has been accumulated up to the time of the marriage ceremony. That night the groom's family hold a fiesta in their house, while the bride's relatives also continue to celebrate the event in theirs.

Three or four days later, the bride and groom and his immediate family go again to the house of the bride's father. This is considered the final ceremonial visit they will make. There is a good deal of talk about the marriage, the auspicious ceremony, and so forth, and a further discussion of the promises made to the newlyweds by the girl's father and his kinsmen. The groom brings a slaughtered sheep for his parents-in-law, a small part of which is cooked and eaten at [269] the gathering. The animal is in the nature of a present for the use of his parents-in-law. It does not constitute part of the bride-price, but is rather a token of good will and hope for amicable relations. The visit is called *tukul napiñin*, in Spanish *visita novia*.

178 Today, arranged marriages proceed with little difficulty, and there
● 584 is less bickering over marriage payments than is said to have occurred formerly. Relatives other than those most closely connected to the bride and groom hardly ever raise objections to the marriage, although they may choose not to participate if they disapprove. Nowadays, it is less important to gain the approbation of any but one's [583] household head, since contributions to the marriage wealth are minimal. Usually, the father of the groom controls the most valuable item

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of wealth, namely, the land made available to his son. If the groom's father's brother, for example, should object strenuously to the marriage, he might be ridiculed for wanting the girl himself. Nor does the chief's opinion of the match necessarily carry much weight anymore, since his control over reservation land has diminished during the last generation or so.

Before setting themselves up in their own house, it is customary for the bride and groom to live in the latter's father's house. The period of residence varies, depending on several conditions. For one thing, a house has to be built for the young couple. In some cases this is done before the marriage, but in many cases only the commitment for its construction may be arranged for then. The *rukan*, or house-building ceremony, is costly and may not be feasible too soon after the expense of the wedding has been met. Furthermore, the land on which the new house will be built might be under cultivation, and it is customary to wait until the crops have been harvested before the new household is established. If the young couple is awaiting the delivery of the promised part of the girl's dowry, there might be a further delay in setting up the new household. Then, too, it is sometimes necessary for the couple to wait until the young man has actually reaped a harvest from his fields before moving into their own house. Sometimes the young couple remains with the man's parents until the birth of their first child. They may remain in the husband's father's house for a number of years. It seems, however, that young newlyweds prefer to live by themselves nowadays, even though there may continue to be a close working relationship between a man and his father's household – indeed, the young man usually continues in a closely dependent relationship to his father at least for the first few years of marriage and often until the old man's death.

The above generalized account of marriage negotiations, even including some of the interpretations, is close to a composite picture of informants' descriptions. The wedding ceremonies I observed showed some variation in emotional content, as well as differences in the amount of bride-price, the range of relatives present and their importance in the ceremony, the number of times *ñillatkhungung* occurred, and the presence or absence of *mafütun*. These are variations within the pattern. It may be said that *tukulthungung* takes place more often in the initial stages of marriage negotiations that have not been precipitated by elopement; and that haggling is more in evidence when contributions are made by many members of both line-

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584 583 ages. In general, poor Mapuche need assistance of relatives if they hope to have an elaborate ceremony. However, wealthier Mapuche are able to carry most or all of the burden of marriage wealth without assistance, thereby somewhat circumventing traditional lineage participation in marriage arrangements.

SECONDARY UNIONS

589 Secondary marriage may involve the taking of an additional wife in a polygynous household, or another spouse after the death of the first. There are no prohibitions placed on remarriage per se by either [590] men or women after the demise of one spouse or, in the case of women, when desertion or divorce has terminated the first union.

A man has greater freedom in choosing a second wife, and may look anywhere for her. Since women today show some reluctance to [595] become co-wives in a polygynous household, a polygynist may have to marry a somewhat undesirable woman if he wants to increase his number of wives, but this is about the only difficulty with which he will be faced. Yet there is a tendency to take a second wife from the same group as the first (if she has died). Institutionally, this is the sororate, for the man marries a real or classificatory sister, a lineage sister, of his first wife.

587 589 There are more restrictions placed on the secondary marriage of a widow. Widows nearly always "marry" lineage brothers of their husband, under the terms of widow inheritance and lineage-based rights, if they want to remarry and remain on their husband's land. If a woman returns to her natal reservation, she is free to marry anyone who will have her, and her opportunities will be enhanced if she [591] has claim to some land there. In most cases her new husband will reside uxorilocally. If she remained on her husband's reservation, she could not usually obtain permission to marry a man who was not an agnate of her dead husband. While a widow is theoretically free to marry anyone, provided she relinquishes claim to her husband's land if she marries outside his lineage, her opportunities for contracting a favorable second marriage are slim unless she has some land of her own. Her difficulties increase if she has a number of children and is no longer young.

587 178 589 The sororate and widow inheritance do not occur with as much frequency as in the past. The reasons for this decline are essentially economic, especially involving farmland and its diminishing pro-

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not borne out by genealogies as far back as these are remembered. Whatever the historical implications of this Mapuche notion, the notion itself is in no way descriptive of the contemporary marriage system.

Ordinary circumstances of marriage result in adult brothers and sisters living on different reservations, which is to say that under the rules of lineage exogamy and patrilocal residence women move away from their natal group after marriage and men do not. A woman retains her lineage affiliation, but her daily interests are geared to the activities of her husband's community. However, she continues to play an important part in marriage negotiations between the community into which she married and the community into which she was born.

In a "cross-cousin" marriage system a young man's closest tie with the unit from which he obtains his wife is his mother, sister of his future father-in-law. From a girl's point of view, her father is the closest tie to the unit from which she will obtain a husband, father's sister being her potential mother-in-law. Unless one is particularly aware of this relationship, the nature of ego charts tends to obscure it, since the mother's brother, for example, is not simultaneously described as mother's brother/father-in-law. Furthermore, the standard ego chart gives a strong impression, because of the marriage links which are shown, that only "real" relatives as distinguished from "classificatory" relatives are described. While it is always to be understood that these actors on the ego chart are to be viewed as symbols for categories of kin, "real" relatives are also always included in these categories -- and accounts of kinship behavior with respect to "real" and classificatory relatives tend to become jumbled.[3]

Genealogies show that marriage between primary cross-cousins, children of actual siblings, seldom takes place. In the following section, I shall argue that this, too, is because of a feeling of "closeness." A corollary of this is that, while "real" mother's brothers and father's sisters might be instrumental in helping arrange marriage, it is almost never the marriage of their own children to one another. Genealogies show that brother and sister almost never stand in a direct in-law relationship with the offspring of either, as they would had their own children married one another.

[3] I think there is this tendency in the arguments of Homans and Schneider (1955) which speculate about lines of authority and sentiment, despite occasional caveats that they deal with classificatory kin.

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ceremony was to be reciprocated. All this points to the existence of a high bride-price. We are not clear about the nature of dowry, but the emphasis on bride-price suggests that the dowry was negligible in comparative value. (See Cooper, 1946:719-20 ff., for a summary of the historical data.)

Autobiographical material dating to the early reservation period (Moesbach, 1938) indicates that dowry payments were important and perhaps equal to the goods received from the groom's group. This contrasts with accounts for prereservation times. I take this to mean that land had already become a scarce commodity and was a major part of the marriage wealth, but my argument does not hinge on historical data, and it is difficult to evaluate the evidence (Moesbach, 1938:242-50). Earlier historical accounts mention return of the bride-price in the event of the wife's untimely death, and payment of an amount equal to or greater than the bride-price by a woman's paramour. These payments could only have been in movable goods and, since the accounts are of the prereservation period, it is likely that land was not as highly valued as it came to be after 1884. In any case, such reports about return of the bride-price do not appear in the later literature (except as historical references) which describes exchange in movable goods as more or less equal in value. I suggest that this is because land had become the item of overriding importance in negotiating marriage.

That any exchange of commodities occurred, once land became highly valued, is probably due to factors of prestige that had always been involved in marriage. The wife-giving group sent the bride with a dowry containing, aside from valuable animals, many luxury goods of silver and woven cloth. Similar items were also part of the bride-price. Descriptions of marriages between chiefs' families during the last two generations are almost regal and tell of large contributions from several reservation groups related on each side. They clearly are highly ceremonious events. *Konas*, males of rank-and-file status, also called upon their relatives for contributions to enhance the display, but had less elaborate weddings – and they had to obtain permission to marry from their chief or lineage head, in whose hands was the title of registry of reservation land.

Today, a man need not usually request permission from his chief to marry, although the matter is called to the chief's attention out of respect, and, if there is parental disapproval, the chief may arbitrate the matter. The heads of small sublineages or individual families,

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however, must always be consulted if a man hopes to obtain a parcel of land. The permission of this group is the controlling factor in marriage, and land is the item of greatest value in the marriage wealth.

An in-married woman exercises a number of rights over the land made available to her husband by his lineage. It must be remembered that neither husband nor wife nor any of the reservation members, including the chief who holds the *título de merced*, has actual legal title to his fields. He has only residence rights accorded under the reservation system by the Chilean government and the group that was dominant at the time of *radicación*. These residence rights are extended to a woman upon her marriage to a member of the local group. The value of these rights is far greater than that of the movable goods involved in marriage wealth. A wife also has rights over the produce of her vegetable garden and over the animals she may raise, any of which she may sell for her own purposes. After her husband's death, she is considered "owner" of his house and fields, and, if she is childless and remarries (albeit with permission of the elders of her husband's lineage), her new husband acquires effective control over the fields through her agency. A widow may exercise great choice in the disposition of land and other valuables among her children with or without full approval of her husband's lineage. She is entitled to reside on the reservation until she dies.

In cases of divorce, separation, or a wife's death shortly after marriage there is no return of bride-price as was customary in the past. All indications are that this is because land remains in the possession of the husband's group regardless of any supposed breach of the marriage contract, there being no petition made for animals and other goods for which a rough measure was received in dowry. In these instances, however, the husband has full control of the dowry payment.

Under these circumstances there is no over-all imbalance in payments between wife givers and wife receivers, no accumulation of wealth. The very diffuseness of the matrilateral marriage system, whereby one lineage gives and receives from several others, further inhibits an imbalance in accumulation. But scarce land is an important factor in regard to whether marriage takes place within the system.

There is a fixed amount of reservation land, slowly being depleted through the division of some reservations into severalty holdings, as already discussed. As population increases, land becomes subdivided

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to a point where it will not support additional families. Emigration is now and for a long time has been a solution to this problem. The emigrants do not marry within the matrilateral system. However, many who remain on the reservations are forced to postpone marriage until later in life, until parents die and make room for the establishment of new families. This has resulted in an increase in the number of bachelors and spinsters (as compared to registry records for the late 1800's and early 1900's), an incongruent outcome since there are no longer bans on early marriage (cf. Titiev, 1951:75).

In the discussion of polygyny and competition for wives, in the previous section, something of the above argument was implied, and declining polygyny was related to scarce land. Intergenerational competition for wives under the restrictions of reservation life was a tension-ridden situation, no longer resolvable by segmentation and migration. The solution made by the Mapuche seems to have been that of passing of father rights, over women and over land, to the son. In Gifford's opinion a situation of this sort might be reflected in a change in the kinship terminology, and I feel that the Mapuche are a case in point (Faron, 1956:451). Studies of essentially historyless societies seem to have cast undue doubt on the possibility of this sort of development affecting kinship terminology, thereby leaving the field open to analyses solely in terms of concepts of the "unity of the sibling group" and "unity of the lineage group," both of which are always used to describe ongoing systems and both of which must of necessity be ex post facto concepts of too general a nature to be of use in concrete instances in which historical explanation and sociological analysis merge. To argue as I have is not to uphold the belief that the only social force operative in affecting terminology is a special form of marriage, but rather to say that the social system has become modified for such-and-such reasons, explained historically, and that the kinship terminology has tended to change in a way consistent with changes in jural rights involving marriage.

Finally we come to a consideration of the role of the lineage in marriage arrangements, particularly in providing part of the marriage wealth. Although historical sources are somewhat vague concerning the details of kingroup participation, the impression they leave is that marriage has been a matter of group concern since the arrival of the Spaniards in Chile. There were fluctuations in the composition of the groups, apparently, in different historic periods under different social conditions. At the beginning of the reservation period,

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it is clear that the chief played an important role in marriage arrangements through granting rights of residence to the bride and providing land for the groom. The chief of a generation ago is said to have had a similar role, insofar as he represented lineage decisions in matters of marriage. This need not be taken at face value. Today, the chief's importance in these situations is relatively inconsequential. Even the groom's lineage rarely takes an active part as a whole in marriage negotiations, the sublineages being the most important groups in the arrangement of marriage. While it is actually the minimal lineage of the groom that provides him land and other necessities for setting up his new household, this unit always operates as a responsible segment of the entire localized lineage.

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any given time the family constitutes a link in this never-ending chain of relationships with the past and the future.

Courtship and Marriage

Marriage brings new elementary families into being and provides offspring of regularized unions a clearly legitimate status in the patrilineage and the reservation community. Marriage is a fundamental expression of institutionalized relationships between unilineal descent groups which stand to one another as wife-giver and wife-receiver. It is a structure which involves rights and obligations surrounding the transfer of wealth between such groups, as well as patterned and traditionally sanctioned primary and secondary unions, separation, divorce, ritual belief and action of a compensational nature, and numerous other aspects of sanctioned social relationships.[1]

During marriage negotiations and nuptials there is much formal concern with spirits ancestral to the cognatic group most directly involved, the union and in most cases the reunion of the two lines, the preservation of descent groups through the legitimate procreation of children and heirs, the substantiation of traditional values through the correct conduct of the marriage ceremony, and so forth. Mapuche notions of incest-category, sanctioned in myth and story and overwhelmingly observed in practice, are reinforced through a number of symbolic acts connected with marriage.

Courtship is a prelude to marriage within the boundaries of the matrilineal system. Conducted along established lines of wife-giving and wife-receiving lineages, courtship provides the setting for premarital sexual affairs on a level of respectability which receives the tacit approval of the elders of any community. The young couple and their immediate families are committed to the fact that marriage will take place in due course and according to traditional form. Marriage is a reaffirmation of the established bonds between segments of a person's cognatic group of relatives, segments which have a sustained marital

[1] Marriage is discussed in more detail in *Mapuche Social Structure* (Faron 1961a).

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and the one which must pay for them.' This is expressed in kinship terminology. Most of the wife-giving group refer to wife-receivers as "the one who has purchased" (dilleu in purchase, also, used as a kinship term which may be roughly translated as brother-in-law). Those of the receiving group call those whom they pay for wives weku (roughly, maternal uncle). These terms are used in a general classificatory manner which serves to identify wife-receivers as dilleu and wife-givers as weku, regardless of terminological modifications which occur for any individual after marriage.

It is during the period when marriage is being negotiated and finally solemnized that the relative inferiority of the wife-receiving lineage is most emphatically symbolized. On balance, and with respect both to items of material and symbolic value, the wife-receiving group pays considerably more than the bride brings in dowry.* The bridegrice payments and ceremonial acts of subservience indicate the traditional superiority of the wife-giving group.

A young man who has come to an understanding with a girl, and possibly with her parents, goes to seek out her father in the company of one or more of his older kinsmen or friends there in his stead to initiate the suit of marriage. Their prospective moves under the scrutiny of several elders of the girl's lineage, her father's closest kinsmen-friends. The latter, strongly influenced by the girl's father, pass judgment on the marriage proposal and

* I am not considering personal feelings here. In general, though, it may be said that the wife-receiving group is felt to harbor resentment against the wife-giving group. The suspected ill will of the receiving group causes wife-givers to charge them, sometimes openly, of not caring for the women they receive in marriage, of saying that their door is always open (which, in fact, it is not) to their married sisters who wish to return, and causes them to associate dilleu with sorcery, under certain adverse circumstances. In this latter sense, a smattering of the idea that socially inferior persons of little means practice sorcery against their social superiors, who are usually wealthy men (dilleu).

* In speaking of bridegrice and dowry the Mapuche refer most often to land and cattle. The word for dowry, however, is properly ñi, and really signifies household goods, clothing, jewelry, weaving looms, etc., which, to my mind, indicates 1) that an equal exchange of animals is a post-conversion phenomenon which took the place land acquired its present importance in Mapuche life, and 2) that some ceremonious exchange is necessary for cementing the marriage contract (see Faron 1961:207).

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may refuse the suit or delay the marriage. In any case, the groom's lineage is placed in a position clearly inferior to that of the bride's.

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Titiev's assertion that there is an approximately equal exchange of marriage wealth in which "neither party expects to gain very much . . . any profit will probably be spent in mutual entertainment" (1951: 101) is an unverifiable observation. In the absence of a conceptual scheme of Mapuche marriage alliances it is easy enough to see how Titiev was misled by informants' statements to this effect. For one thing, the most loquacious informants were very interested in convincing the outsider that Mapuche customs are pretty much in line with those of local Chileans, and that the exchange of gifts at marriage is an equal expression of friendship, mutual respect, and so forth. Whatever gift exchange might mean among Chilean peasants, the Mapuche marriage negotiations show any conception of equality, and a carefully elicited explanation of the details of the negotiations and capital sets reveals that the exchange of wealth is far from being equal. There is an important imbalance of brideprice payment, without which traditional marriage could not take place.

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There is much haggling over marriage wealth, with the result that the economic value of the most important moveable items of brideprice and dowry (cattle) tend to cancel each other. In this sense, "neither party expects to gain very much." But even with regard to cattle there is really no equality after the initial ceremonious exchange is made, since part of the brideprice animals is always used to provide meat for the wedding guests. The groom's people provide the meat and the bride's father controls its distribution and use.

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Beyond this "equal" exchange of moveable goods, however, is the groom's farmland which comes under consideration. Both parties to the marriage are quite concerned with this land. That of the groom emphasizes its richness and other qualities. The bride will exercise lifelong rights over this land, even after her husband's death, and this is stressed. This transfer of limited-use rights to the bride is the *sine qua non* of traditional marriage. Without land, made available by the lineage of the groom, marriage tends to involve atypical uxorilocal residence or

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